Bang Chan Canal bissected the community and joined, about one mile south, Sāensaēb Canal, a broad old waterway connecting Bangkok and Minburī with the canal network of the central plains. A well-raised, year-round road which ran between Bangkok, 20 miles to the southwest, and Minburī, two miles east, cut through one side of the area. On it lay Bang Khūat, another community, about eight kilometers from Bang Chan (cf. Kaufman:1960), and a cluster of houses called "Kilō pēet," (Kilō 8) both west of Bang Chan and nearer to Bangkok. A shallow canal flanked this road most of the way.

The town of Minburī with district offices, shops, and pharmacists, and a good-sized Muslim population was well-known to most of the residents of Bang Chan. Its middle school drew from the surrounding farming countryside, including Bang Chan, those few pupils whose educational aspirations led them beyond the local elementary school. Minburī had electricity, but no telephone or telegraph facilities.

For nine months of the year, while Bang Chan lay under water, most of the marketing was done through boat-vendors who plied the canals. During the dry months, or for large festivities, people marketed at Minburī, Kilō pēet, or in Bangkok.

The Thai government administered Bang Chan through two district offices (amphoē), one located in Minburī, the other in Bangkapi, close to Bangkok. The common boundary of their respective districts happened to run through the middle of the community. Seven local head men, each in charge of one of the seven hamlets (mūban) into which the entire community was divided, reported to one or the other district office. They transmitted instructions from their superiors to the farmers, maintained order mostly by their personal prestige, and kept the village census more or less up to date by recording and reporting marriages, births, and deaths.

At the center of the community was the cherished Buddhist temple with its abbot, monks, and novices, numbering 15 to 50 depending on the season. The elementary public school, occupying one of its buildings,[1] was attended by 300 children aged eight to fifteen, both Buddhist and Muslim. The temple compound was surrounded by a number of houses, including a cafe and stalls for small vendors. A small country mosque (surao) in another hamlet was the religious center for the Muslim minority, some of whose children attended another school just outside the Bang Chan community. The abbot and the imam, the respective local heads of the two religious faiths, were of importance in the community as leaders.

1. A new large school has since been built away from the temple compound.

426 Because of scattered farms and frequent shortage of cash, borrowing food and other items, and many exchanges of service were necessary. Blood-kin were easier to approach, and in the larger social unit, nearer. Borrowing from a non-kin neighbor was supposed to be less frequent, and the favor had to be returned more promptly and exactly.

434 Most opportunities for increasing cash income such as hiring out as temporary farm labor, digging canals, marketing eggs, mushrooms, or cooked snacks, took one out of the home, often overnight. In the small family, one partner was left at home. Both could not go because fear of theft forbade leaving a home unoccupied for any length of time.

The Buddhist Priesthood

792 At the temple lived twenty or thirty priests under the abbot, with a group of boys to serve them. The priesthood was maintained by daily voluntary offerings of food, with larger donations of food and commodities at certain times. Persons who thus "made merit," by supporting the priesthood, by giving to the needy, and adhering to the ethical tenets of the Buddhist religion, reaped a reward of health, happiness, wealth and eventually, freedom from rebirth. The immediacy of these beliefs must not be underestimated. Men only were ordained. They might resign at any time after three months, but some spent their lives in the priesthood.

792 262 431 In Bang Chan, throughout the year, the priests set out at dawn to receive cooked food for the day. They appeared at houses by more or less specific arrangement and were given a generous share of the food prepared by the family for its own use, sometimes with the addition of fruit and other delicacies. Each priest stopped at two or more houses. The food then was brought to the temple to be eaten at 8 and 11. For the rest of the day the priests fasted, i.e. they ate no solid food, but drank liquids such as tea, soft drinks, and recently, tinned milk and a fortified malted milk drink. Priests were also invited to eat in homes not only at large ceremonies, but at small merit-making occasions. Sporadic special food offerings were also received. If a buffalo died, much of the meat was usually given to the temple. Traditional practitioners, mid-wives, and ceremonialists always gave the priests a portion of the fees from their practice which consisted in 1 or 2 liters of milled rice, a bunch of bananas, and perhaps cash. On the numerous Buddhist holidays and at specially organized temple convocations, quantities of cooked, preserved and raw foods were brought to the temple and apportioned among the priests. From this bounty a meal was served to the priests, who ate while the villagers looked on in satisfaction.

One of the duties of the abbot was to coordinate the

792 262 411 village offers of regular service, the holiday offerings, home invitations and sporadic gifts so that all priests had places to go, no one had much more than any other, and that the whole temple did not undergo periods of undue glut[1] or hardship.

792 796 262 About mid-July, Buddhist Lent changed the food habits somewhat. This three-month period corresponded with the height of the rainy season. Priests did not leave the temple to gather offerings on rainy mornings, but younger priests, assisted by the temple boys, cooked meals from supplies on hand. On the first day of Lent, people brought less perishable foods: green bananas, coconuts, sugar cane, pomelo, sweet potatoes, taro, onions, garlic, salt, sugar, dry salted beef paste, dried fish, canned goods, and milled rice. During Lent fresh or cooked foods were brought in, and some ladies volunteered to cook for varying periods of time. On a holiday in September, families made up such quantities of a sweet of "puffed" glutinous rice, sesame seed, and peanuts pounded and held together with sirup and sometimes covered with grated coconut that priests were tired of it and many children got diarrhea from overeating of it.

In mid-October, the Lenten restrictions ended with another holiday offering, and thereafter the priests went regularly on their appointed rounds.

796 261 On Buddhist holidays, the people did not usually eat any of the food brought to the temple, but on (3)thauad (2)ka-(5)thin[2], an all-day festival held in October or November, after feeding the priests, the people also ate bounteously.

792 857 262 Residing at Wat Bang Chan in 1954 were 22 boys, aged 10 to 16, sent to serve the priests, get their living and attend school. Most of them were from poor or disorganized homes. They shared the food offerings from which they received three meals a day. Among the children's food records, the food listed by these boys as eaten the day before was comparatively diverse.

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792 262 737 235 1. Amounts of food given usually exceeded the actual needs of the priests and temple boys. One instance was noted in which food was sent by the priests to a needy old person nearby. Leftover rice was dried and sold for chicken feed.

114 104 2. The transcription used throughout this report is that described by Sharp et al., 1953, pp. 12-15. Numbers in parentheses represent the different tones of the syllables.

canal misjudged his needs for milled rice and ran out, he had to mill his own paddy. Since the main canal was deepened in 1953, year-round transportation of rice by boat has been possible for many more farmers, and this may further decrease the consumption of home-milled rice.

Of 105 households which had and used a home rice mill, 99 used the polishings for feed but no family in Bang Chan used them for human food (Goldsen and Ralis, 1957). One farmer, headman of a hamlet, who lived near the main canal and the road to Minburi but who used home-milled rice, offered as the reason that the polishings were good chicken feed, and if he took rice to Minburi to be milled, the miller would keep the polishings.

As reported by Janlekha (1955) consumption of milled rice in 106 households amounted to about 285 kilograms per capita per year or 780 grams per person per day. Such "household consumption" includes "losses to pests and poultry, daily gifts to priests, contributions to temples and outlays for feasts and rites in undetermined but considerable amounts" (Sharp et al., 1953, pp. 265-266).

Flesh Foods Other than Fish. - The people of Bang Chan had a taste and appreciation for flesh food, but the production and use of meat was certainly inhibited by Buddhist tenets which prohibited the taking of life.[1] Killing of poultry, fish, etc. was tolerated among the relatively young, but was considered unsuitable to the aged who should be preoccupied with living virtuously. People felt, however, that the sin of taking life was condoned if they offered part of an animal to the priests.

Since many villagers were unwilling to slaughter buffaloes even when they become aged and useless, such animals were commonly kept until they died. Animals which had died of old age or disease were not, however, regarded by Thai Buddhists in Bang Chan as unfit for human consumption. Usually they were cut up and given to the priests. When the buffalo belonging to one family (Household 67)[2] participating in the dietary survey died, some of the meat was used fresh for curry, much

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1. Meat such as water buffalo and pork as well as fish was sold by venders. Since meat was relatively expensive and was usually used in small amounts with other foods, it was offered for sale in chunks which no longer resembled the living animal. Seeing such small quantities spared the sensibilities of the Buddhists who were thus removed a step from the killing. Actual butchering was done by Moslems or Chinese who did not object.

2. Households were identified by numbers assigned by lot.

252 and dinner, either meal taking an hour or two to prepare.
264 Snacks might be eaten at any time. Adults often ate just the two principal meals, but children, especially the small ones who were not in school, might eat whenever hungry. The school children often purchased snacks from venders on the
• [998] school grounds. If food was to be offered to the priests,
[853] who went around the village about seven o'clock in the morning, breakfast preparation was begun early, between 4:30 and 5:30 a.m., although family members might eat at various times during the morning: the husband before he went to the field, older children, before school time, babies and small children when the mother had time to feed them, and so on (Appendix A, p. 95). Preparation of supper usually took place sometime between 2:30 and 6 p.m. Whenever possible, family members ate together at the evening meal, but many exceptions were noted.

252 Rice is the principal item in every Thai meal. In Thai
262 the general term meaning "to eat" is translated literally "to eat rice." All food items are divided into two classes: rice and "with rice," or (2)kab (3)khaaw. Among the families studied three or four "with-rice" dishes were usually prepared during the day, i.e. for the two main meals, but the number varied in different families, and according to season. One or two of these dishes would usually be "hot" i.e. highly seasoned with fresh or dried chili peppers. Fish was the food item second in importance to rice, but the typical "with rice" preparation, whether hot or mild, contained more than one food item in addition to a variety of spices and flavoring materials (Appendix C, p. 118).

262 Between meal snacks might be any available leftover
264 food,[1] fruit, or items purchased from a vender.[2] Such snacks were not regarded as meals, however, as no Thai considers that he has eaten a meal unless he has eaten liberally of rice.

252 The general method of cooking rice was the same throughout the village. The rice was washed two times in water from the canal or fish pond, and was then boiled in a large volume of unsalted water for about 24 minutes. The rice pot was

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1. Leftover foods from breakfast were eaten later that day with or without reheating. "With-rice" was seldom left over from the evening meal, but rice was frequently kept over night.

[252] 2. Deep fat frying of bananas, sweet potato slices and the like was commonly observed, both among venders who sold their wares on the school ground, and those who travelled by boat. This method of cooking was never observed in ordinary home food preparation probably because fat was in relatively short supply.

252 cooking water was discarded. In Bang Chan, foods were not usually cooked a long time.

In most village homes, one fire only was built for ordinary meal preparation. Rice was cooked first, then "with-rice" dishes, no attempt being made to serve the rice and accompanying foods hot. Indeed, with the frequent use of chilies, one might have the sensation of eating hot foods, no matter when they were taken from the fire. Notes on the preparation of a meal in one household that participated in the dietary study, are included in Appendix C, p. 119.

Meal Service and Techniques of Eating

264 Food was generally served in the kitchen area. When possible, family members ate together at the evening meal, sitting on the floor, each one old enough to feed himself having a bowl of rice before him. The "with-rice" dishes were placed in the center of the group. Family members helped themselves to portions of the "with-rice," using the right hand to take solid foods, and a serving spoon for fluid foods. Enough rice for a bite was pressed together with the fingers of the right hand, so that grains would not be scattered as the rice was conveyed to the mouth. "With-rice" of semi-fluid consistency was eaten by dipping the ball of rice into it, or more exactly, touching one side of the ball of rice to it. The amount of "with-rice" was generally small, and to take more than one spoonful onto the plate at a time would appear greedy.

264 When families did not sit down to eat together, those
593 who ate first were expected to take no more than their share. The wife saw to it that her husband had a liberal serving of the best food available. She also gave generously to the children, holding back, eating last or what was left, herself. In a well-to-do household, where food was ample, the mother would be as well fed as others; in a poor household she might be short-rationed day after day.

When priorities in serving were observed,[1] young children, "not old enough to know better" were not expected to wait until the elders had been served. A frequent pattern at both breakfast and dinner was for older children to feed the younger ones before their own meal; elders in the family then ate, and husband and wife ate together if possible, or as
792 convenient to their separate schedules. In the morning if food was to be offered to priests, family members did not ordinarily eat until after the priests had been served. If necessary, however, the priests' food could be served onto a
000 tray, then others might eat. The observer often had

1. See footnote 1, p. 49.

264 would not come willingly to work. When a family with a repu-
476 tation for stinginess diluted the (3)khaaw (3)tom too much,
[574] the group refused to eat any, thereby reminding the host of his obligation for hospitality.

574 Guests to whom meals were served fell into four categories: 1) kin, 2) visiting dignitaries, 3) priests and 4) drinking companions. Kinfolk who came as guests were married children, or those who were away at school or work, or kinsmen from Bangkok or elsewhere. The older the relative or the greater the distance travelled, the greater the honor accorded him. Foods were exchanged. Two visiting ladies travelling in a large boat, made an annual round of all their relatives, bringing certain "city" foods and receiving substantial gifts of rice, fish and fruit. They stayed for several days as guests of one family, then moved on. Every person from Bang
[431] Chan who visited a relative in Bangkok carried big packages of food, usually rice or eggs, as gifts. With the inflated prices in Bangkok, it was advantageous to have a "country cousin" who might bring food. Visiting kinsmen always recognized the need for eventual reciprocity.

Visiting dignitaries were usually entertained by hamlet headmen. Meals served to visiting officials, policemen and others might be elaborate, involving cooperative help in preparation, but reciprocity, if any, rarely took the form of a return meal.

[792] Regular visits of the priests, as well as the invitation of priests to the house for special events, have been mentioned. Priests might also come from afar, usually staying at the temple but receiving generous offerings of food from people of the community.

[562] The custom of convivial get-togethers of either or both sexes was well established. Men traditionally enjoyed "stag" dinners of four up to twenty or more whenever the ingredients for a turtle, frog, cobra or other snake curry were available. Chicken curry might also be thus served, and once a catfish mash was prepared by a male visitor from the north. Those curries were cooked by men, and the host served liquor freely.
784 The all-male character of the occasion reflected the old re-
388 strictions on women's partaking of flesh foods (see p. 42),
213 but older women did not hesitate to join in the drinking.
[524] Women also got together in drinking parties, sometimes to play cards.

In addition to sharing food with people in these four categories, the general rules of hospitality required that anyone who came to the house at meal time, should be offered food, or at least a drink of liquor, tea, or plain water.

796 The actual ritual of these ceremonies did not take a great deal of time although it was important. Most of the [476] time and effort went into preparing and serving food. Even a small celebration involved cooperative effort among relatives [782] and friends. For every event, the Buddhist altar in the home was decorated and offerings were made to the house-spirit. A 764 big cremation might require planning in detail for years ahead: 796 invitations to priests and relatives in distant parts of the 514 country; hiring an orchestra and obtaining ceremonial gear. 533 For the largest events, when the guest lists ranged upward to 426 60 or so priests and 400 other guests, one borrowed the hundreds of trays, dishes and bowls owned by the temple. No rental fee was charged for these, but such items had to be returned the next day, clean, and damaged articles replaced or paid for. As the day or days drew near, boat-loads of fresh provender were bought at big markets, and organized cooperative cooking went on under the direction of a competent person, [258] usually one of the "professional" cooks of the village. The [476] day before one ordination, 33 women were seen preparing vegetables, fish and soup; 13 others were making 7 kinds of desserts; about 50 others of both sexes were at different tasks, the men in particular cooking Chinese noodles, grating coconut, stirring, stoking fires. The picture was one of rows of stoves, pots so large they were stirred with a boat paddle, buckets of sugar, eggs by the hundreds, a hired generator to run a mechanical coconut-grater. On this occasion two meals were served. At another splendid (1)ngaan, the priests were fed three meals, other guests up to eight meals, over a period of two and one-half days. Workers had received additional meals beforehand.

[262] The banquet comprised rice and many dishes not met with in daily fare: Chinese noodles; "with-rice" dishes of several kinds, rich in fish, meat and vegetables: for example, fried chicken with internal organs, garlic and pepper; fried pork with mung bean; (2)mii (a fried vermicelli) with fish, vegetables, and a tomato sauce; many different desserts made of eggs, rice flour, glutinous rice, agar, coconut and coconut milk, sugar, sweet potato, dried green beans; flowers served in syrup, fresh fruit such as watermelon; ices and coffee.

128 In Appendix A, p. 102 is a list of foods bought for an 262 annual homage-to-the-teacher rite. It is the nearest approxi- 796 mation to a quantitative record of food for a ceremony that 815 the research group obtained. The prominence of purchased foods, especially of flesh foods, is noteworthy.

264 On the great day, the priests were served first, either 796 at 7 a.m. or 11 a.m., or both, always at least in part by the 792 host, who sat and chatted with them. No one else ate until

the priests had finished[1]. The trays of food from which each guest served himself were bountiful, but it was not proper to eat very heartily, lest the host suffer the shame of running out of food. If there were a dramatic show or movie at night it was open to the public. In one case 2000 people attended. At that time eight commercial venders turned up to sell coffee, soft drinks, ices and other foods. Venders came to every large ceremony, and were heavily patronized. At the end of a (1)ngaan, the sponsors felt satisfaction and security. Where there was plenty of food to take home, the success was even greater. An earthy compliment was, "the fields were full of feces."

In addition to the banquet were ceremonial offerings of food to spirits and ritual food sometimes consumed as a sacrament. For each ceremony, appropriate selections were made from a specific list: a cooked pig's head, or at least a slice of cooked pork; two kinds of sweetmeats, red ((2)kha-(5)nom (3)tom (1)daeaeng) and white ((2)kha-(5)nom (3)tom (5)khaaw); a cooked fish, usually (1)plaa (3)chauaun, with its head and tail; a green coconut with its coconut water; a bunch of bananas either of the (3)kluaj (4)nam-(4)waa or (3)kluaj (4)nam varieties; a hard-boiled egg, usually duck; and liquor.[2] Other kinds of sweets, fruit, sugar cane, items for betel chewing, chicken, salt, and rice might appear. As these ceremonies were thought to be auspicious, purifying, therapeutic and protective, they were most elaborate at the great (1)tham-(1)khwan (soul-strengthening) ceremony, at house-raisings and at rites to local guardian spirits. The necessity of these ceremonies explains why when public structures were raised, a portion of the public funds were used for a repast. In Bang Chan when donations for a new school

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1. Other priorities in service might be observed; for example, at a celebration preceding ordination the priest-candidates were served next. At one small affair, when 11 priests came to a home to conduct a service for a disabled old man who could not go to the temple, this elder was served after the priests, then the research group who counted as visiting dignitaries, and finally the other family members, with the women who prepared the food, and the children, eating last. The general sequence prescribed by etiquette was: priests should be served before anyone else, old before the young, the males before females, persons with high status such as teachers and ceremonialists before low, urban before rural. Those who cooked and served came last of all. When the number of participants was large, guests might be served, as they arrived, over a period of hours.

2. The presence of meat, fish and alcohol is this ceremonial food reflected non-Buddhist elements in Thai culture, and should not be viewed as a gross violation of Buddhist precepts.

435 Some information as to the cost in baht of the larger
196 ceremonies held in 1954, and their scale, was obtained from
[124] the school teacher's diary. Examples follow:

[792] Ordination: Total cost 8,000, including food 1400, liquor 800. Guests contributed 4000.

[852] Top-knot tonsure: Total cost 1550, including new utensils 550; 6 priests fed; each priest given 12 baht; 12 (2)pin-(1)toos filled to take to the temple; 100 duck eggs donated, and 300 baht received from 30-40 guests.

[764] Cremation[1]: Total cost 40,000[2], including about 10,000 for food; 61 priests fed[3]. About 500 guests contributed 4377.

[875] Homage-to-the-teacher ritual:
A: Total cost 715, including food 565 and liquor 150; 40 tang (800 liters) fish and 3 tang Chinese noodles donated.
B: Total cost, 11,000[4].

[585] Wedding: A: Thai Buddhist: Total cost 5000. Guests gave 2300.
[583] B: Rite of forgiveness after elopement: a meal, with 5 bottles of liquor.
[184] C: Moslem: 2 buffalo slaughtered. 400 guests.

585 Arranged marriages could be large merit-making affairs,
262 with a huge procession from one house to the other of twenty-four "pairs" of specified foods, i.e. two bearers each of
[583] sugar cane, fruits, sweetmeats and other things. At more modest weddings and the rite of forgiveness for a couple who had eloped, food might differ from the usual fare only by including the three essentials of a wedding: pork, chicken and alcohol.

273 Increased consumption of alcoholic beverages during the
796 ceremonial season was indicated by the sales of one local
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1. Cremation was the last of several rites at death. Private 7-day, 30-day and 100-day rites were held, when priests came to the home to chant and to be feasted.

2. With cooperative assistance from well-situated relatives in Bangkok.

3. The whole chapter of priests from Wat Bang Chan
[792] was always included at cremations, and often others from a
[574] distance.

4. See list of food purchased, Appendix A, pp. 102-103.

One other aspect of (1)ngaan which should be mentioned
852 in connection with food and health is the opportunity for con-
796 tamination of food. The villagers did not associate sanitation
751 with health, hence the hazards of a community meal which many
[751] persons helped to prepare were many. Two incidents observed the day before an ordination in early April, will illustrate. In the final stage of making Chinese noodles, rice flour paste was extruded through a perforated disk into an enormous pot of boiling water. When done, the product was removed with a fish net, and plunged into the canal to cool, after which women helpers spread it out on banana-leaf covered trays. Dishes were also washed before use in the canal, which was then too low for boats. Since, however, many people drank untreated canal water at this season (see p. 28), the added hazards for the participants caused by these procedures may have been slight.

262 In summary, food plays a major role in ceremonies and
792 festivities, which are concentrated in the 3 months' dry season. Proposals for dietary improvement in Bang Chan must take into account not only the possible effects of the (1)ngaan season on the total nutrient intake, and on opportunity for exposure to contaminated food, but also the importance of these affairs from the standpoint of merit and prestige, and the relatively great financial burdens which villagers therefore undertake because of them.

QUANTITATIVE DIETARY STUDY: FOODS EATEN AND ESTIMATED NUTRIENT INTAKE OF SELECTED FAMILIES IN BANG CHAN

Procedure

121 Selection of the Sample
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Medical inspection designed primarily to discover possible signs of nutritional deficiency was carried out in advance of the family dietary study. The suggestion of Grant (1948) that matched groups, of contrasting economic or other status be studied, appeared to be appropriate to the situation in Bang Chan. Our hope was to be able to select from the random sample of families given medical inspection (Hauck, 1956) a group of families (A) in each of which several members had clinical signs which might be evidence of malnutrition, and a group of families similar in age and sex distribution (B) in each of which the members were largely or wholly free from such signs.

125 When the medical inspection of the random sample was
146 complete, however, too few of the families were found to meet our criteria for inclusion in Group A, i.e. the group of apparently less well nourished families. Additional families for

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Table 8. Summary of Economic Conditions of the Two Groups of Households Participating in Dietary Studies

Household Group and Code No.	Members	Land: Rai Worked	Land: Rai Owned	Buffalo[1]	Food Cost[2]: Total	Food Cost[2]: Per Cap.	No. of Priests Fed	Sources of Income
Group A								
222	5	0	0	0	2.96	0.59	0	Labor contractor; hired out as labor; boat repair; fishing; vegetables sold; canal digging.
12	3	12	0	1	2.70	0.90	0	Rice production; occasional work in Bangkok.
215	5	14	0	1	1.59	0.32	0	Rice production; wife, a medium.
67	5	16	6	1-0	2.52	0.50	0	Rice production; eggs sold; road jobs.
2	6[3]	20	0	2	3.97	0.66	3	Rice production; "professional cook".
103	8	47	12	5	2.04	0.26	2[4]	Rice production; eggs, fish, mushrooms sold; buffaloes raised.
Mean		18.2	3.0	1.6	2.37	0.49	0.7	
Group B								
23	8[3]	6	0	1	1.56	0.19	0	Rice production; selling fish and vegetables; masseur.
21	4	25	25	3	1.92	0.48	3	Rice production; headman
16	8	47	47	5	2.70	0.34	2	Rice production; vegetables, fruit sold; road jobs.
25	8	50	50	3	7.97	1.00	2	Rice production; eggs, mushrooms sold.
20	9	66	51	11	2.47	0.27	2	Rice production; ceremonialist; doctor; carpentry; trading; eggs collected and sold.
Mean		38.8	34.7	2.6[1]	3.32	0.45	1.8	

1. The buffalo belonging to Household 67 died during the year. In Household 20, the brother who moved in owned several buffalo, thus the total for Group B was more than the number shown.

2. Average cash expenditure per day, in baht. (One baht equalled about 5 cents) Household 222 received rice as part of wages.

3. Babies born during Round IV were not included. In Household 23, a 12-year old son served as temple boy and was away from home much of the time.

4. Rainy season only, when priests could come by boat; counted as 1 in computing average.

125 fishing and selling vegetables, they managed to obtain a fair
532 diet. The father's skill as a masseur was valued especially
511 at periods of heavy farm work, after childbirth, and by the
834 cooks at a ceremonial feast. This brought in from 2 to 12
163 baht per week.
[262]

In Group A, Families 67 and 103 were at the most difficult period of life, with young, dependent children, and
[236] housing, land and equipment to be acquired. By great industry, including egg production from a flock of 60 chickens, and by severe "belt-tightening," Household 103 was lifting itself into a propertied position. The parents in Household
[857] 67 were shy. One or the other of the two older children
059 often stayed home from school to look after the baby, so
[124] that both parents could work. Husband and wife in Household 12 were both very shy, the only ones in the survey group who
[152] were at all reluctant to participate. They seemed ashamed of limited food. The wife was frequently ill. In Household
[44] 222, the 14-year old daughter often gathered and sold vege-
[304] tables at Minburi before school in the morning. She might have full charge of the younger children for days at a time. A daughter who worked as a servant in Bangkok contributed 50 baht per month to this household. In Household 215, the
[465] activities of the wife as medium were predominant. Pay included food, often cooked, and the free use of 3½ rai of
[435] land, as well as cash. Maintenance of a son in school in
[871] Bangkok cost about 1000 baht per year plus 60 tang of rice. In Household 2, the elderly wife's services as "boss-buyer and cook" at ceremonials, and as marriage go-between did not bring in cash, but gifts, clothing and much participation in feasts.

431 All families in the survey group were Thai Buddhists,
262 and 6 of them offered food to priests more or less regularly.
792 On 17 of the 24 survey days when the observer visited these
[779] households, food was offered. Two of the 5 families that did not customarily give food to priests, did so on one and two survey days, respectively. In one case food was offered to a son who had been recently ordained. Rice was always included in the food offered, and in 3 of the 20 instances observed rice only was given. The weight of cooked rice given by one family in one day ranged from 185 to 1210 grams, with an average of about 600 grams. In 16 instances, some cooked food such as fish or vegetable curry was given with the rice; in one instance fresh pineapple was given.

511 Cash Expenditures for Food. - Mean total, and per
[128] capita daily cash expenditures for food for survey days, are shown, by household in Table 8. (See Table 2, p. 23 for division of food expenditures for Groups A,B) Although cash expenditures for food varied considerably, the amounts in all cases were small, and approximated figures obtained by Janlekha (1955) for 106 households. Larger consumption of animal products, which were the most expensive items purchased,

000 concerning its culture and use. Tilapia culture was learned
[434] largely by trial and error, and was considered primarily as a
[224] source of extra cash. If it had been regarded also as a means of improving health through increasing the family's food supply, and if the homemaker had been shown how to use this unfamiliar fish in familiar ways, the outcome might have been
[262] different. Increased use of fermented fish and of small dried fish which are eaten whole, should be encouraged. So long as the ability of human beings to adapt to such low calcium intakes without harm has not been proved, any feasible means of increasing the calcium content of the diet seems worth trying.

262 More home consumption of eggs would be desirable, but
[432] their ready sale and acceptability for barter may present an
[431] obstacle to increased home use. Increased production would probably lead to some increased home use at least at the peak
[432] season. Duck eggs which are less often sold, might be stressed both for this reason, and because of their greater size. The idea held by some that eggs are not good for children nor for pregnant women should be countered when possible. Since hard cooked eggs have many ceremonial uses, they might be presented
[264] as "strengthening" food. Hard cooked eggs, which could be prepared the night before, would be convenient as breakfast for workers who would otherwise go to the field without food, for lunch to be carried to the field or to school, and for occasions when parents are to be away from home, as at a ceremonial, and should leave food at home for children.

272 Milk, as canned, dried or malted milk preparations, was
792 considered an appropriate gift for the priests, who are for-
788 bidden to eat solid food after the 11 a.m. meal. Some of this may be shared with the temple boys. The respected old ladies and others who stay overnight at the temple on the Buddhist holy day, and who observe the same rules as the priests for this time, also like to drink milk, often with coffee. Perhaps the wat committee could be taught how dried or canned milk should be reconstituted, and could direct that this be done. They could both spend some of the cash offerings for milk and encourage those who buy gifts of food for the priests to in-
000 clude milk among them. People gladly bought food for the
[829] priests and would probably accept on the authority of the head
[792] priest or respected elders, the idea of buying certain foods of high nutritive value, even though these cost more. If a small group of leaders, such as the wat committee or the hamlet headmen were instructed in the dangers of contaminated water and the values of good food, with the implication that the best available should be offered the priests both daily, and on ceremonial occasions, improved practices might spread to home consumption, since most food is prepared in the home.

[796] The importance of merit making and the relatively large
[882] cash expenditures involved in ceremonials, will probably influence acceptance of any improved practices which involve cash outlay. If some leaders were interested in dietary

177
244 cent of the respondents report that they have engaged in this activity). Even if no mushrooms have ever been grown in a given household, it is still likely that the individuals in it are aware of the practice and have observed it closely through the mushroom growing activities of their friends, relatives, and neighbors (reported in 43 per cent of the households). Only a few households (13 per cent) report that they have never grown mushrooms or have never been exposed to it in this way.

243 At the height of the boom, the demand for rice straw
244 swept many of the fields clean of the stubble usually left
234 there after harvest, thereby decreasing food for the roaming
197 buffalo and the small increment of nutrients usually plowed back into the soil.

The advantages of mushroom culture cited by Goldsen and Ralis (1957) were 1) the cash outlay required was small, 2) returns were realized quickly as the cycle was completed in two to three weeks, 3) little heavy work was required and 4) at the time when Ralis made the survey, a ready market was available. When, in 1957, the price dropped sharply, most of the growers gave up.

262
435
796
[431]
792
[875]

Food for Homage-to-the-Teacher Rite Performed by a Buddhist Priest Who Was a Traditional Practitioner

Item	Amount	Cost in Baht	Item	Amount	Cost in Baht
Cereals and Legume Seeds:			Fish and Meat (cont.):		
Rice noodles		10.	Dried fish	6	gift
Soybeans & fermented vegetables	25 kg.	12.	Roasted fish	3 kg.	gift
			Shrimp paste	2 kg.	18.
Mung beans	10 lit.	25.	Lobsters		15.
Cassava flour		2.25	Lobsters (for soup)		7.50
Sugar and dessert:			Pig's skin (for soup)		10.
			Beef[1]	15 kg.	150.
Palm sugar	1 pail	67.	Ingredients for Mussel-man curry[1]		27.
Cane sugar	14 kg.	85.			
(2)Kha-(5)nom (3)tuaj-(1)foo	500 cups	35.	Boiled chickens[2]	2	22.
			Pig's head[2]	4 heads	222.
Fish and Meat:			Pork[2]	4 kg.	40.
Fish ((1)plaa (2)myk) for soup		6.			
Silurus and serpenthead	60 kg.	gift			

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

essentials not atypical of the region. Instead of villages being organized administratively on the basis of natural social groupings and demarcations—that is, social centers and groups with which people feel a primary identification, in Bang Chan's case the local Buddhist monastery and government primary school—so that governmental and social units are isomorphic, they are gerrymandered into highly arbitrary administrative units. Thus the village of Bang Chan is comprised of seven *muubaan* or hamlets, at the head of which are seven hamlet headmen; these hamlets are located in two different *tambon*, or communes (four in one commune, three in the other) headed by two commune headmen, neither of whom lives in Bang Chan; the two communes are located in two different districts headed by two different district officers and their staffs; the two districts fortunately are in a single province, Phranakhɔɔn, the same administrative unit in which the metropolis of Bangkok is located. Yet the people who reside in these varying hamlets located in different communes and districts all perceive themselves as living in the single village of Bang Chan. The fundamental organizational problem here is that since the sources and lines of governmental authority do not follow the lines of the natural Bang Chan community, jurisdictional conflicts and confusions arise to threaten the effectiveness of those community-wide programs that occasionally may be initiated. For example, during a diphtheria immunization campaign in the village (Hanks and Hanks 1955), the public health officer from one of the district offices was reluctant to immunize all the children of Bang Chan on the grounds that some of them came from hamlets outside his district's jurisdiction; he yielded, as the Hankses note, only when a perceptive villager pointed out that if germs knew no boundaries why should he?

Not all villages of the Central region have such real or potential administrative difficulties. (And Bang Chan does not have them too frequently either, principally because the government does not initiate too many community service programs.) However, the basic organizational principle which admits them—that houses are grouped together as administrative "villages" on the basis of conceptual neatness rather than socially functional criteria—is a common feature of the administrative structure of the Central Plain.

The foregoing account describes some basic culture patterns which Bang Chan shares with other villages of either the region or the nation. In addition to these broader patterns, Bang Chan has certain traits which inevitably refer to local village conditions and contingencies. For example, the most active and viable social unit in Bang Chan beyond the familial level is the order of Buddhist monks associated with the monastery. It is the only organization within the village that has been successful in mobilizing community activity (Sharp *et al.* 1953), although much of this activity has

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
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Thailand AO1

been religious in nature—getting the assistance of villagers to construct monks' cubicles or repairing the small rest pavilions near the monastery, the "pay" for which is Buddhist merit—or, if secular, infused with sacred attributes, such as when the head monk helped raise funds for the construction of the Bang Chan school by supporting the notion that villagers who gave money to the school would make merit. It is clear, however, that the organizational vigor of the Bang Chan monkhood is mainly a function of the aggressive personality and leadership of Bang Chan's particular abbot, and that with a more retiring, contemplative head monk—a not uncommon or undesirable role for an abbot—the situation would be strikingly different.

In a similar vein, it is difficult to link the incidence of land ownership and tenancy in Bang Chan with any consistent national or regional pattern. At the national level, Thailand is fortunate among predominantly peasant nations in having a comparatively low level of land tenancy, an estimated 80 percent of the cultivated land of the country being owned by the small, independent farmers who work it (National FAO Committee of Thailand 1949). However, within these broad, national parameters there is considerable inter- and intra-regional variation. Zimmerman's study in the early 1930's indicated that the number of peasants without land ranged from 14 percent in Southern Thailand, through 27 percent in the North, to 36 percent in the Central Plain. These regional figures seemed to have remained relatively constant through the years in that deYoung (1955) reports a tenancy figure of 27.7 percent for a village in the North which he studied in 1949, and Janlekha (1955) indicates a figure of 37 percent for Bang Chan, in the Central Plain, in 1953.[4] As close as the Bang Chan figure may seem to its regional average, however, it is of little significance when seen against the background of variability that exists within the region as a whole: for example, in villages near the city of Lopburi, only 12 percent of the villagers are landless, but in the Khlong Rangsit area, not far

[4] It should be noted, however, that other indices of economic well-being in Bang Chan have not remained constant. To the extent that his historical materials permit, Janlekha (1955) points out that land holdings have become increasingly smaller, the amount of time newly-married couples must live with one set of parents (in order to accumulate the capital necessary for setting up their own neolocal households) longer, and the price of land higher. Janlekha's data indicate that in the five-year period between 1948 and 1953 alone, the price of agricultural land, as contrasted with considerably more expensive residential land, in and around Bang Chan increased 560 percent!

It is also well to keep in mind Janlekha's observation that, depending upon familial circumstances such as number of children and availability and proximity of labor, a Bang Chan farmer who rents a large plot of land from a benevolent absentee landlord, who is often unfamiliar with Bang Chan crop values, may be considerably better off economically than a farmer who works a small plot of land that is all his own.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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continually brings to the attention of the villagers urban standards and aspirations which, whenever possible, they attempt to apply to themselves. L. M. Hanks (1959*b*: 19) sees the operation of this characteristic acculturative mechanism in Bang Chan in terms of the villagers' "search for respectability": "A respectable cremation requires an orchestra; a respectable dwelling a tile roof; a respectable sickness an injection; and a respectable family must chaperone carefully its growing daughters. So run a host of points which help to bolster but not necessarily to advance social position."

Yet, after the relationship between village and town has been considered, Bang Chan remains very much a peasant community, whose residents are concerned first and foremost with the cultivation of rice, the maintenance of their monastery, and their own immediate social environment. Despite aspirations, many Bang Chan cremations must go without the orchestra; most dwellings lack the tile roof; injections are taken only by those who can afford them; and the necessity for boys and girls to work together during harvest time, a period of unavoidably infectious joy, precludes any rigidly imposed chaperonage. Perhaps the best assessment of the cultural position of Bang Chan was provided by the writer's field assistant—an individual born and reared in a village in the Northeast who, although in many respects worldly and urbane, maintained an almost passionate identification with his peasant background—who said: "When I first came here to Bang Chan, I never thought that people living so close to Bangkok could be *real* Thai villagers. But they are. They are not as friendly and hospitable as Northeastern peasants, and they are more interested in money, but they have a much greater love of the land. No city person could ever think and feel as they do."

Family Life and Social Organization

In terms of the traditional categories of social structural analysis, the social organization of Bang Chan is strikingly simple. There are essentially only five social units which demand, and toward which villagers express, relatively enduring psychological commitments. These are the nuclear family;

home from school, the curriculum for which is written and directed by Ministry of Education officials in the city. Approximately 14 percent of Bang Chan households have battery driven radios (there is no electricity in the village) and approximately 60 percent of the villagers can read, although considerably fewer actually have the proficiency to go comfortably through a newspaper; theoretically the same number of people can write, but few Bang Chan adults have the courage to take pencil to paper without feeling discomfort over their handwriting, spelling, and knowledge of stylistic forms. Newspapers that people bring home from town are passed around and read more for their entertainment than information; the few books that are seen in the village are pulp magazines, religious or moralistic writings, and occasionally do-it-yourself pamphlets ("How to Raise Chickens the Modern Way").

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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a loosely defined, laterally oriented kindred; the nation-state (mentioned not for formal reasons, but because it actually is psychologically important); and to a lesser extent, the village monastery and school. Of these five institutions, the nuclear family is the principal focus of psychological concern, beyond the individual himself. Otherwise, there are in Bang Chan no castes, age-grade societies, occupational groups (other than the family), neighborhood groups, or groups expressive of village solidarity (such as councils or governing boards) which might impose a sense of obligation on the villagers, or to whose norms or functions the villagers might have to conform.[6] Bang Chaners do not have to contribute their labor to their community, serve as village guards, contend with the dictates of village elders, or even actively coöperate with fellow villagers.

All villagers have additional relationships of varying degrees of intimacy both within and without the community, but these are dyadic, not group, relationships based on implicit expectations of mutual benefit. Such contacts are in nature primarily idiosyncratic (friends), transient (reciprocal work groups, gambling and drinking partners), or contractual (as opposed to affective or kin determined: vendors, landlords, debtors, rice millers, employers, and doctors). It is important to recognize that if some of these latter relationships take on positive affective qualities, they may also assume some of the forms and feelings of kinship. Thus, a young man who is taken on as a hired hand by a family frequently ceases to be considered an "employee" and becomes instead an "adopted son." (This type of *gemeinschaft* relationship, contrary perhaps to theoretical expectations, is also characteristic of many occupational situations in Bangkok.) In a similar vein, the terms for older sibling (*phii*), elder uncle (*luŋ*), and elder aunt (*paa*) are used as terms of address and reference between individuals who are obviously not related to each other, but who wish to mark overtly their fondness and respect for one another. The use of these

[6] There are two minor exceptions to this generalization: (1) a monastery lay committee whose functions are limited to the secular tasks of monastery administration, and membership in which brings prestige and Buddhist merit to a few selected members of the community; and (2) reciprocal work groups organized for and limited to rice transplanting and harvesting, membership in which is completely voluntary and a matter of mutual convenience (Janlekha 1955). Careful accounts are kept as to how much labor is contributed by each participating family, and responsibility for remitting labor received lies with the individual participant, not the group.

It must be noted that the monastery and its cadre of relatively permanent monks, although the very institution that defines the existence of "the village of Bang Chan," is not from the point of view of its clientele primarily a unit representative of village cohesiveness. It is first and foremost a Buddhist monastery where one may make merit and only secondarily *the Bang Chan* Monastery. Several members of the community patronize other monasteries, and several Bang Chan monks come from other locales. The keen sense of individual obligation that villagers feel toward their monastery could be directed toward any monastery.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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fictive terms is of course sometimes prompted by nothing more than the desire to be polite, but equally often it symbolizes genuine feelings of affection and obligation not too different from what the terms imply when they are used in their original kinship context. Bang Chaners have a wonderfully convenient term, *phyan-yaad*, a compound meaning literally "family friends," which is used to refer both to friends to whom ego feels so close that he considers them members of his family and to individuals whom he considers his friends *because* they are members of his family. The particular persons to whom this term, as well as those noted above, is applied vary widely from informant to informant (expectedly so because they are non-institutionalized terms). However, the point to be emphasized is that for all villagers kinship provides a basic referential mechanism for expressing the degree of psychological affiliation that they feel toward other human beings.

An *awareness* of degrees of psychological affiliation and obligation and of the modes for expressing such sentiments are very much a part of village life. For with the exception of the five institutions mentioned above, most Bang Chaners, as I have noted elsewhere (Sharp *et al.* 1956: 241), are really not obliged—and do not feel obliged—to be beholden to anyone but themselves. In a very real sense, the village is comprised of 1,771 individualists whose major goals in life are to obtain sufficient land to support themselves, their growing children, and their religion, free from physical insecurities and unencumbered by entangling social obligations. When they enter into relationships with other people they do so with an awareness that they are always acting of their own free will.

Despite the conventions of ethnographic reporting, it is difficult to delimit the precise nature of the nuclear family in Bang Chan. The nuclear family clearly is the ideal for all villagers, but because Bang Chaners are just as responsive to convenience as they are to custom, there is considerable variation regarding this ideal. In his study of the economy of the village, Janlekha (1955) found it necessary to distinguish five different kinds of functioning, mutually exclusive household units in Bang Chan: the typical nuclear family (59.4 percent of all households); a limited extended family, consisting of a man, wife, either or both their sets of parents, and unmarried children (8.1 percent); an extended family, consisting of the limited extended family plus married children, the latters' children, and any collateral relatives of any generation (26.8 percent); a one-person family (5.4 percent); and the ecclesiastical "family," consisting of the order of Buddhist monks, the only truly corporate group in the village (0.3 percent). (These variations of the nuclear family, all localized groups, should of course not be confused with what I, following Sharp [1957], have been calling the kindred, with what Kaufman [1960] refers to as spatially and

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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These assumptions about the indeterminate nature of the universe and human actions are so integral to the villagers' cognitive orientations that Bang Chaners often hesitate to make even the most elementary kinds of prediction. Thus, in asking a village lad how he felt about his older brother's forthcoming ordination, I was told, "I don't know." The tone of his reply indicated that he was not evading the question, so I pursued the matter further: "Well, do you feel happy about it? Do you wish you were being ordained together with him?" He answered: "The ordination is not for another three days. I do not know how I will feel at that time. But when that time comes I will know." In another case, I was going up the canal with a villager to attend a "Kathin" being held at the monastery. (A "Kathin" is a fiesta-like merit making ceremony sponsored by a person or group of persons from outside the village at which new robes are presented to the monastery monks. It involves the sponsors, their local hosts, and all villagers who wish to attend.) Although not necessarily an annual event, "Kathins" are held often enough at Monastery Bang Chan so that this villager, who was also a member of the monastery lay committee, was thoroughly familiar with every aspect of them. Simply to make conversation, I asked him: "What is the 'Kathin' going to be like today?" to which he replied, "I do not know. I have not been to the monastery yet today." Assuming that his past experience with "Kathins" provided him with some knowledge of the goings-on, I went on: "Well, do you think there will be many people?" His answer: "I do not know. You never know what a situation is like until you meet it. I have not met this one yet today."

The point of these various illustrations is that they represent a psychological universe of uncertainty and unpredictability. And in this kind of universe—where one hesitates to build up sharply defined expectations and where one is forever aware of the mutability and frailty of the environment—it is not unusual that there should also be a high tolerance for interpersonal nonconformity. What the actual limits are, theoretical or empirical, to this tendency to nonconformity are uncertain. Much of the nonconformity is undoubtedly made possible, in the first instance, by the sociologically simple and relatively undifferentiated nature of Bang Chan society; that is, the actual number of functionally specific tasks and roles—those that require special competencies—are few, and any number of different individuals can perform them. Thus, when a Bang Chan employee walks out on his boss or when a wife walks out on her husband, their actions do not from a functional point of view disable the system. Since the requirements of the role of house servant or farmhand are characteristically simple and understood by all, the departing employee can usually be replaced by another individual. Similarly, since any adult—aunt, grandparents, older sibling—can and often does rear another's children, and

and KY followed by a number.) The center of social life in Bang Chan is the Buddhist monastery or wat and the adjacent government primary school. The community simply consists of the clientele which regularly patronizes Wat Bang Chan and this school rather than other comparable institutions elsewhere in the region. Within the area of the community lives a minority of Thai Moslems constituting about ten per cent of the population. They have their own mosque which happens to be just outside Bang Chan, but they attend many secular and some Buddhist functions at Wat Bang Chan. A number of small stores, which also serve as coffee houses and men's clubs, are used as neighborhood centers in different parts of the village. Near the central wat and school, there is also a store, and the house provided by one of the headmen for use as the Project headquarters.

This present interim report of the Cornell Thailand Project includes some of the data necessary for the design of a program to improve health and diet in Bang Chan. Another report, now in preparation, will give the results of a detailed dietary survey made in the community following the health survey reported on here. These two studies together will indicate existing deficiencies in health and diet, and will permit the formulation of recommendations for needed changes in behavior as these can be realized in the context of the village and national culture.

The author of this study, Dr. Hazel M. Hauck, is Professor of Food and Nutrition in Cornell University. She has been associated with the work of the Cornell Thailand Project since 1950. She not only designed and supervised the research on health, nutritional status, and diet in Bang Chan, but during almost a year of field work in Thailand she obtained valuable data on many other topics for the Project's files. Some of her daily work in Bang Chan made little sense to the villagers, but they nevertheless became devoted to her. Her energy, tact and fine spirit in facing the discomforts and difficulties of rough field work in a tropical foreign land inspired both her Thai and American associates. Working with Professor Hauck were Dr. Amusith Rajatasilpin, now a teacher in the School of Public Health in Bangkok; Miss Sapha Indrasud, now in the Ministry of Public Health; Dr. Chumlong Kittivoja, of the Dental School of the University of Medical Sciences, Bangkok; and Miss Saovanee Sudsanoh, who has been doing post-graduate work in nutrition at Cornell and Harvard. To all of these faithful workers, the Cornell Thailand Project is greatly indebted.

Lauriston Sharp, Director
Professor of Anthropology

Southeast Asia Program
Department of Far Eastern Studies
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York
September, 1956

40

27.a. Excuse me, but at present do you have a (wife/husband) who lives and eats with you, or not? [125] [592]

1. Yes	255
2. Yes, qualified _____	6
3. No	72

b. IF NO: Excuse me, but is this because you are widowed, separated, divorced, or is there some other reason? [589] [586]

4. Widowed	45
5. Separated	9
6. Divorced	1
7. Other, specify	10
— No Answer	7

28.a. Your own children, all of them that have ever been born, how many are there? [592] [162]

8. None	24
9. One	32
X. 2 to 3	70
Y. 4 to 5	74
0. 6 or more	133

b. How many of your children are still living?

0. None	29
1. One	40
2. 2 to 3	83
3. 4 to 5	82
4. 6 or more	97
— No Answer	2

c. How many of your children have died? [165]

0. None	198
1. One	44
2. 2 to 3	56
3. 4 to 5	17
4. 6 or more	9
— No Answer	9

29.a. Have you ever been ordained as a priest, or not? [793] [792]

1. Yes	187
2. No	31
— No Answer	2

/Male Buddhist (220)/

b. IF NO: In the future, do you want to be ordained as a priest, or not?

3. Yes	20
4. No	11

c. ASK ALL: How many sons do you have twenty years old or over? [592] [162]

5. None	176
6. One	56
7. Two	29
8. Three or more	29
— Unascertainable	43

125 29.d. IF R HAS SONS 20 AND UP: Of your sons over twenty, how many have been ordained as Buddhist priests, or not?

[793]
	7.	DA 219
	A.	None 82
[593]	9.	One 58
	X.	Two 25
* [792]	Y.	Three or more 16

[162] e. Do you have any sons under twenty?

	9.	Yes 188
	X.	No 106
	—	No Answer 37

[793] f. IF YES: In future, do you want your sons under twenty to be ordained as priests, or not?

[782]
	Y.	Yes 186
	O.	No —
	—	No Answer 2

g. IF YES: But aside from your admirable desire to have them ordained, in your true heart how sure is your expectation? Are you very sure or not very sure, or fairly sure that they will be ordained?

	1.	Very sure 140
	2.	Not sure 26
	3.	Fairly sure 12
	4.	Unascertainable 9
		NA 1

h. All over Thailand there are some Thai men who are over 50 but have never been ordained as priests. For what various reasons might this happen?
(See code at end)

[461] 30. Suppose there was some work you could do individually, or that could be done in a small group of two or three, or that could be done in a large group. Which way would you prefer to do the work--as an individual, or in a group of two or three, or in a large group?

	8.	Individually 60
	9.	Small group 55
	X.	Large group 202
	Y.	Undecided, depends 4
	O.	Unascertainable 12

[572] 31. Around here in EC-KY there are some people who have many close friends and there are other people who have few close friends. And how about yourself? Do you have more close friends than most people around here, or about the same as most people around here, or fewer close friends than most people around here?

	5.	More than most 62
	6.	Fewer than most 94
	7.	About the same 154
	8.	Unascertainable 23

54

125 [369] [829] [793] [792] 42.a. IF DISAGREE: For what various reasons do you disagree?

If Disagreement (See code at end)

43. Do you agree or disagree that all priests are honest and moral men?

X. Agree	197
Y. Disagree	90
O. Undecided	40
— No Answer	6

[829] 44. Do you think it is right or wrong for a Thai to marry a Chinese?

1. Right	55
2. Wrong	182
3. Unascertainable	91
— No Answer	5

[775] 45. Do you believe that ghosts bother people? Strongly, somewhat, or not at all?

4. Strongly	40
5. Somewhat	136
6. Not at all	124
7. Unascertainable	28
— No Answer	5

[653] 46.a. During the past year, have there been any activities for the public welfare in BC Wat, or not, to which you contributed labor?

1. Yes	231
2. No	102

b. IF YES: For what various activities did you contribute labor?

_____

_____

c. During the past year or so, have there been any activities for the public welfare in the wat, or not, to which you contributed money or goods?

1. Yes	264
2. No	63
— No Answer	6

[651] d. IF YES: For what various activities did you contribute money or goods?

_____

_____

47.a. How about activities not connected with the wat or with religious ceremonies in the home. During the past year, have there been any such activities for the public welfare in BC-KY, to which you contributed labor, or not?

1. Yes	98
2. No	232
3. Unascertainable	7

Question 29.h. Reasons respondents give for why some old men have not served in priesthood (multiple choice replies). 125 793 792 828 829

Immediate deprivation		
Dependents (worry about family, have wives, they have many children)	78	
Financial reasons (they are very poor, they have no money, their parents are very poor, in debt)	56	
Property (worry about property and profession)	15	
Life situation		
Married too young (too early, have wives early, "fell in love, got married, acquired dependents, so could not get ordained")	50	
Wrong orientation to life (they believe in a wrong way of life, they are lazy and not religious, they pay too much attention to wordly things, they cannot pray, "they don't think of their parents enough, they think only of themselves, and only of the present")	19	
Religious belief system		
Apathy to priesthood (they do not like it, feel indifferent about ordaination, have no intention of being ordained)	43	
Indifference to Buddhism (they are not true believers, they did not participate in religion, "they aren't sons of Lord Buddha," "they don't love their race or Buddha")	19	
Qualification		
Illiteracy, ignorance (they cannot read, they are ignorant, "afraid cannot abide by teachings and discipline," "they cannot read so they are ashamed if they become priest")	21	
Personality (they are ruffians, they are disorderly drinking men, they are poorly brought up, they are not good enough, mental disturbance)	11	
Background		
Lack of parental supervision (their parents can't control them, "nobody would give the advice and so they did not enter the priesthood)	5	
Parental objection ("Some men have quarrels and their parents don't want them ordained," "they cannot receive permission from their parents")	2	
Other reasons ("Because such men did not get ordained in previous incarnation, either," "because he has sinned in the past life and has had luck in this life," "they have to be soldiers," "they don't know the merit of sin," "they are too old, their merit did not reach the certain point so they did not have the chance," "they have children and sometimes feel ashamed before sons who have been ordained," "they forgot")	8	
No Answer	63	
Don't know, unascertainable	37	

592 do not share the same arrangements for preparing and consuming food.

621 The 298 families living in Bangchan on May 23, 1953
59 may be grouped into five categories: (1) "One-person house-
• [792] hold" consisting of a lone man or woman /for ease in typological manipulation we arbitrarily consider this as a family, although strictly speaking a one-person household is not a family/; (2) "Nuclear family" consisting of a man and wife and their unmarried children; (3) "Limited extended family" consisting of a man and wife, either or both their sets of parents, and their unmarried children; (4) "Extended family" consisting of those included in "limited extended family" plus married children and children of the latter, plus any collateral relatives of any generation; and (5) "Ecclesiastical family" consisting of Buddhist priests, novices, and temple boys, all males, living together in the temple under the Headpriest's supervision. The distribution of these different types of families so defined is shown in Table 3.

592 Further explanation is perhaps necessary with respect
596 to the "extended families" in Table 3. It must be pointed
621 out that the term 'extended' is here used for the sole purpose of defining types of families which include dependent married couples as differentiated from the ordinary independent nuclear family. It will be seen in the next section, however, that there is no permanency in this inclusion of married couples whose intention is always to establish an independent family of their own. The so-called 'extended' family in

[TEXT CONTINUES ON PAGE 63]

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF FAMILY
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

59
621
• [792]

Family Types	Frequency	Per Cent
One-person household	16	5.4
Nuclear family	177	59.4
Limited extended family	24	8.1
Extended family	80	26.8
Ecclesiastical family	1	0.3
Total	298	100.0

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY SIZE
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

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Family Size	Frequency	Per Cent
One-person family	16	5.4
Two-man family	18	6.0
Three-man family	34	11.4
Four-man family	35	11.7
Five-man family	43	14.4
Six-man family	48	16.1
Seven-man family	38	12.8
Eight-man family	26	8.7
Nine-man family	23	7.7
Ten-man family	10	3.4
Eleven-man family	1	0.3
Twelve-man family	2	0.7
Thirteen-man family	2	0.7
Fourteen-man family	1	0.3
[792] Forty-one-man family*	1	0.3
Total	298	100.0
Mean	5.7	
Median	6	

* Ecclesiastical family.

178 the family members we were informed that A's daughter and
592 her four children had moved out of the village separately
621 to different places which could not be traced, while B's brother and sister went to live with a relative in Lam-loogga, also a rice growing village some fifteen miles to the north. The two chief bread winners of the family, A's husband and B's father, managed successfully to get themselves ordained and are now residing in the village temple. Early in 1953 B went to live with her relatives in Lam-loogga, leaving the sick old grandmother alone in Bangchan.
[792] The arrangement was that the old woman was to quit the old
[888] shack and take refuge in the secular part of the temple where it would be possible for her ex-husband, now a priest, to have two meals delivered to her every day. Just before the 1953 census was taken, however, she was taken to Lam-loogga. The last member of the disintegrating family was thus left out of the 1953 census.

178 Case 2: After the death of his first wife, an old
592 man in BC4 gave his two sons equal shares of his property.
587 He then acquired a second wife and built a separate quarter
736 apart from the main building, thus creating a new family of
621 two. In 1952 he was fatally hit by a truck on the Minburi road. After a few months of unhappy stay with one of her step sons, the widow acquired a new husband and moved out to a neighboring village.

178 Case 3: There was in BC4 a laboring family of three
592 consisting of an old man, his daughter, and her son. After
621
[166]

178 592 621 [166] the death of her father, it was reported that the woman and her son moved to Bangplee, another rice growing village some fifteen miles to the south. After checking with some of the former Bangchan residents who are now living in that village, the first report was found to be inaccurate. In fact no one in Bangchan seemed to know where they were. The only hint available to us concerning the mother and son was "Family disintegrated. Mother went one direction, son another direction."

Case 4: A woman and her adopted son were operating [702] a 22-rai rice farm in BC6. After the death of the mother, the man remained in the village alone for a short time and then was conscripted into the army.

Case 5: After the death of the head of a laboring family in BC6, the wife and their four grownup children left the village separately. In the eyes of villagers this was [166] another case of "family disintegration." The wife's birth place was in KY8, but she could not go back to her old family because there was not enough land to work.

Case 6: An old woman, age 76, was reported in the [737] 1949 census to be living alone in KY5. Later she moved [792] into the secular compartment of the temple (she was an aunt of the headpriest) where she died before the 1953 census was made.

Case 7: A man, age 50, was living in KY8 with his older sister, age 60, and their nephew's son, age 6. When the man died, the older sister pursued her brother's farm

178 592 621 [593] because four members of her family had just left her to establish families of their own. The son-in-law accepted this invitation and had since taken over the management of his mother-in-law's large 60-rai rice farm.

Case 10: In 1949, an old woman was living with two boys, one distantly related to her, the other without any [427] [792] [431] blood relationship. She was operating a small rented rice farm. Some time in the past she had made a generous offer of her own house to the temple which was not acted upon by the receiving party. In 1953, the headpriest contemplated an expansion of one of the temple buildings and approached the woman for the gift. The woman complied with the request, had her house dismantled, saving only the kitchen, and sent all the building materials to the temple. Meanwhile, the two boys had left her; one went to live with his mother in [593] [431] the village, the other went to Bangkok. Later, the woman joined the household of her younger brother, who lived next door, with the understanding that the brother had free use of her buffalo in exchange for her room and board.

Case 11: In 1949, a woman was living in KY8 with her aged mother and her baby born of her separated husband [586] [587] who was a policeman. Two years later, the woman married a widower, who lived in the same hamlet, and brought along her mother and son to live with her new husband.

With the exception of Case 6, a lone aged woman who was survived by none after her death, these cases may be grouped according to the nature of acceptance of the families

434 463 7. Home enterpriser. Main income from food or handicraft articles produced at home.

434 792 463 8. Priest or novice. Though priests and novices do not receive salaries or wages, their maintenance, which comes from the temple and directly from the people in the form of contributions, is their main income. This category includes only permanent priests and novice personnel. Excluded here are all residents who enter the priesthood more or less perfunctorily for just a few months. Since sexual abstinence is demanded of all monastic personnel, no wives or offspring are found in this category.

434 9. Miscellaneous. The main income source for the eight families in this category is obscure. The heads of these families are not known to have any steady occupations.

178 463 621 Table 9 shows the occupational distribution of Bangchan families as of 1949. It may be observed that some of the figures in this table differ slightly from those reported in the preliminary study previously cited. This is because errors such as duplications and omissions in the original census have been detected and corrected.

Table 10 shows the same distribution as of 1953, and Table 11 the change in the occupational structure of the village that took place during the four intervening years. In 1949, 80 per cent of Bangchan families were farm operators. Four years later, the figure was reduced to 73 per cent. While there was no percentage change in the figures for public servants, miscellaneous, and priest or

243 marriage did take place, the couple were usually obliged
162 to stay with the parents of either the husband or the wife.
178 It is reasonable to believe that the nascent period was
592 prolonged during this period of hard times. Thus, the
182
[582] family size tended to be larger than it normally is. This is especially true for rice farming families where there always is some work for members able to work. It is not surprising, then, that the average size of farm operating families in Bangchan was 6.3 in 1948 while the average size of all families was 5.7 according to the 1949 census. A steady rise in the price of paddy after the war has improved the economic condition of rice farmers. The increased income, however, had to be spent first on replacement of equipment and housing facilities which had been long overdue.
[792] Finally, the bumper crop of 1948 with an ever-increasing price put an end to farm misery, and the following dry season saw a record number of newly ordained priests and
[591] merit making activities. From then on proportionately more marriages took place and there were fewer economic obstacles to keep newly wed couples from starting out independently. The combined effect of termination of prolonged nascent period and freer establishment of new families was that the size of the farm operating family was considerably reduced.

16 It may seem strange that more marriages should bring about a drop in the number of the young from 2.5 per family in 1948 to 2.0 in 1952. By the young is meant, however,

592 a transient member of the family. This was rather unusual,
464 however. The pattern was that a transient member was
[561] accepted when he is rather young. If he was quite mature,
he might also be accepted; but the expressed motive of the
592 accepting family would then be somewhat different. When
465 approached by a mature prospective transient member, the
464 family head would most probably say that he could not afford to keep a hired laborer but he would be glad to let the man or woman stay with him as a member of the family, and that they might as well "share in the food, and share in the work".

It has been observed that transient family workers received much less from the family than the standard wage
[435] of hired laborers. While the latter received an annual wage of 1,000 baht or the crop from 5 rai, the former might be given only 50 or 100 baht a year. To farm operators of moderate or large rice farms, transient family workers were certainly an economic advantage. It was quite natural that these operators would try to keep them in the family as long as possible. Among the several methods observed were the following: (1) adoption; (2) promise to sponsor ordination of the young male transient member; and (3) giving a certain amount of <u>lampai</u>.

592 It was mentioned in the section on the family in
464 Chapter II that adoption as practiced in Bangchan did not
[597] involve legal registration of the adopted child, and that
[792] maltreatment of adopted children was not infrequent. To sponsor an ordination was in fact not quite as expensive

592 as it might seem to be, for there was a wide range of
464 ordination expenses and the family head naturally tended
• 792 to arrange one that was not so expensive unless it was for his own son. He might even arrange a joint ordination of
592 which the cost was much reduced. Moreover, most of the cost
464 of the ordination would be covered by the customary contributions made by neighbors. The lampai arrangement, which was nothing but a sophisticated term for wage, was a real concession on the part of the family head, indicating that he really wanted to keep the transient member in the family even at a certain cash expense.

464 The presence of transient family workers and their
592 relatively low remunerations indicated a condition of popu-
466 lation pressure on land. Already, these people had adversely
[161] affected the laboring sector of the village economy because they represented an additional supply of cheap labor. Although they had contributed to a low cost of producing paddy and thus benefited the operators, with the rise of the price of foods which farmers had to buy and with the decline of free food (in the forms of fish and aquatic plants) transient family members may in time become a liability rather than an asset to the family. To be sure, when such a time has arrived, the family would be reluctant to admit a transient member. The trouble, however, is that the cost of maintaining an extra family member is implicit and not readily distinguished by the family. It would thus take some time before the real situation would be recognized.

*243 needs at least two work suits in each rice season, one
291 during the field preparation and another during the har-
511 vesting season.

372 Kerosine is used every day for lighting purposes.
226 We do not include in this category kerosine which is used
511 in the farm work; but that used with the pressure lamp in fishing by spearing during the night is included in the ordinary household expenses, for we do not consider fishing as a farm enterprise but as a routine activity participated in by all Bangchan residents, farmers and non-farmers alike.

431 Contributions to neighbors is a necessary item of
476 expense in the village. These are cash gifts made by in-
796 vited guests to the sponsor of such rituals as ordination,
511 cremation, marriage, topnotch-cutting, and teacher worship.
[792] These rituals usually take place during the dry season fol-
[764] lowing harvesting when cash is abundant in the village and
[585] are always followed by feasts, not uncommonly in a series of two or three days. Since all these rituals necessitate the participation of the priests, they have to be arranged in consultation with the temple to avoid conflicting schedules. Although few rituals have been noted to be in conflict with one another, usually they are spread throughout the dry season and m ost people are able to attend rituals to which they are invited. In cases where they cannot attend in person, they are obliged by conventional requirement to send in their cash contributions. The standard cash contribution is 5 - 10 baht. Usually, a